Treaties

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Equal Rights

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FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY
AUGUST 11, 1934

The Equal Nationality Treaty Is Born

This is an historic scene. It shows a section of the Sub-Committee of the Third Commission of the Montevideo Conference immediately after it voted unanimous approval of the Equal Nationality Treaty, December 12, 1933. At this moment the vote of five governments changed it from a draft proposal into a treaty-to-be. Four days later, on December 16, the treaty was unanimously adopted by the plenary session of the Third Commission, the United States abstaining, and later in the same day was unanimously adopted by the Plenary Conference, the United States voting affirmatively.

Left to right: Dr. Angelo Alberto Giraudy (Cuba); Dr. Sofia A. V. de Demicheli (Uruguay); Gustavo Rivera (Chile), Chairman of the Sub-Committee. The other members of the Sub-Committee were: Dr. Francisco Luis da Silva Campos (Brazil), who moved the adoption of the treaty; and Dr. Carlos Neuhaus Ugarteche (Peru).

Immediately after this meeting, the support of the Uruguayan and Cuban members of the Sub-Committee was enlisted by Doris Stevens for the complete Equal Rights Treaty, which they subsequently signed along with Paraguay and Ecuador.

Equal Rights

OFFICIAL ORGAN
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Capitol Hill,
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Phone, Atlantic 1210
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at 19 West Chase Street,
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Phone, Vernon 3279

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 1]
[House Joint Resolution Number 1]

Introduced in the Senate March 10, 1933, by SENATOR JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Delaware.

Introduced in the House March 9, 1933, by REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS LUDLOW, Indiana.

Geneva Lends Its Ear

JUSTICE must prevail in the end. Fascism and economic disturbances have been a set-back for women, but, if we view the earth in its entirety, the status of women has undoubtedly improved. Anyone who believes in the ultimate rightness of things must feel confident that the achievements of the past year will have their counterparts, even more glorious than those of the past, in the months lying immediately ahead.

Signs pointing in that direction are very definite. Successful at Montevideo, Doris Stevens thought next of Geneva. To get the Equal Nationality Treaty before the League of Nations, the Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women persuaded the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to open the treaty for adherence to other nations. Soon after, she was successful in having formalities instituted that led, June 5, to the sending of an official inquiry as to the action taken on the treaty at Montevideo, by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the Director-General of the Pan American Union. The reply to this inquiry is to be laid before the Council of the League.

Adopting a different course, Alice Paul, Founder of the Woman's Party, has been seeking consideration by the League of both Equal Nationality and Equal Rights Treaties. Through her efforts the Women's Consultative Committee of the League of Nations has voted to ask the League Assembly to approve the Equal Nationality Treaty and has likewise gone on record as approving the adoption of a full Equal Rights Treaty.

Who would have thought a year ago that the complete emancipation of women which some Feminists still hold should be won piecemeal, State by State, would today be soaring to its realization on the broad, swift wings of international compact? And if we consider individual lands, among them Finland, Russia and, very recently Brazil—the largest country on the South American continent—which have granted their women equality with men in all respects, can we longer doubt that, in spite of Fascism, revolutions and world-wide social and economic disturbances, the womanhood of the world is marching steadily, determinedly and invincibly to its goal?

Again our eyes turn toward Geneva, this time with a hopefulness greater than any we have experienced since women first knocked at the doors of the League of Nations.

Logic—Male and Female

AMONG the mental qualities which men supposedly possess in greater degree than women is the power to reason. Woman is often regarded as a somewhat flighty creature who arrives at conclusions by "jumping" at them rather than through the orderly processes of consecutive and sustained thought.

Poets and romanticists have delighted to dwell on this alleged mental weakness of the female of the species. One of them has written a poem beginning, "Woman in her hours of ease, uncertain, coy and hard to please." It is only when called upon to render aid as a nurse, trained or otherwise, that the hysterical creature can be depended upon to have any sense at all.

Of course, these lines were written long before there were women statesmen like Alice Paul and Doris Stevens, or scientists like Madame Curie, or aviators like Amelia Earhart and Anne Morrow. Other names, of course, could be cited by the thousands to prove that logic was not born and will not die with men. Not so long, at least, as men continue to argue that married women should be thrown out of their jobs to make way for men, and on the theory that any husband's salary should suffice for the wife also.

Apropos of which, Lena Madesin Phillips, President of the National Council of Women, said recently, "If need is the criterion, why not limit the employment of those who, because of accumulated wealth, have no need of gainful employment?

As Feminists, we have been ready to believe that men had at least as good reasoning powers as ourselves. In the light of modern male performance, must we revise our ideas again and conclude that in the matter of reasonableness the gray matter of the female is really superior to that of the male?

Possible Action by the League of Nations on The Pan American Equal Nationality Convention

IN the May 26th issue of EQUAL RIGHTS, we printed material relative to the steps taken by the Inter American Commission of Women to bring the Montevideo Equal Nationality Treaty before the League of Nations for action.

In order to accomplish this, Doris Stevens, the Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women caused to be presented to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, at its May 2 meeting, the relevant facts concerning the delegates' understanding that this was to be an open treaty when they pledged their support to it at Montevideo. At this meeting, the Governing Board laid down a general rule which included the Nationality Treaty, but this action has to be ratified by its next meeting in October, 1934. Therefore, in order to expedite matters so as to make it possible for the League of Nations to consider the treaty this year, the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board was persuaded to act at once in regard to this particular convention and, after five meetings, on May 11th, ruled that this convention was intended to be, and therefore was, open to non-American States for adherence, without, however, establishing any precedent for other Pan American treaties. You may not know that this is the first Pan American treaty to be declared open to non-members of the Pan American Union.

On the same day, the Chairman of the Commission conferred with the Secretary of State, who is the Chairman of the Supervisory Committee, as to how to proceed officially and immediately to communicate the committee's ruling to the League. The Secretary of State was eager to coöperate and at his suggestion the Chairman of the Commission consulted, May 12th, the next day, with his Legal Adviser, who called in the Chief of Protocol for a joint conference on procedure of communicating with the League. During the conference Dr. Rowe, the Director-General of the Pan American Union, was asked by telephone whether he had had any inquiry concerning adherence by non-American States. He replied that he had had none. He was then asked if he would be willing to communicate the information to the League Secretariat. Dr. Rowe said he preferred to have the League, or any interested country, query him first, and he would then reply in the affirmative.

The State Department thereupon asked Miss Stevens if she, as Chairman of the Inter American Commission, would be willing to suggest this procedure to Geneva. The Chairman cabled Geneva the same day, May 12th, that the treaty was open and suggested that confirmation would be forthcoming from Dr. Rowe upon inquiry from Geneva. The following letter of June 5th, from the Secretary-General of the League addressed to Dr. Rowe, was the result.

ALICE PAUL WINS VICTORY IN GENEVA

According to a cablegram received several days ago at National Woman's Party headquarters in Washington from Alice Paul, the Women's Consultative Committee of the League of Nations, meeting in the League of Nations Building in Geneva, has voted to ask the League Assembly to approve the Equal Nationality Treaty and to submit it to all member nations. The committee, Miss Paul likewise stated, went on record as approving the adoption of a full Equal Rights Treaty.

Upon receipt of Miss Paul's cable, which was addressed to Florence Bayard Hilles, Acting Chairman of the National Woman's Party, Mrs. Hilles issued the following statement:

"This message from Alice Paul should be a message of glorious encouragement to all those women throughout the civilized world, who believe in equal justice to men and women. It will give an added impetus to the successful passage of the Equal Rights Amendment which comes before the next session of Congress, and should be made a matter of active interest and information to all those candidates who stand for election. Insistent demand to elect only those candidates who are known to stand firmly in behalf of the principle of Equal Rights for men and women must be made."

Mrs. Hilles added that the Consultative Committee was created by the Council of the League of Nations in January, 1931, through the efforts of Alice Paul and other members of the Woman's Party.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS
Geneva, June 5, 1934.

SIR:

Resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations on October 12th, 1932 and January 24th, 1933 respectively provided that the Council should follow the evolution of the question of the nationality of women with a view to determining when further concerted international action would be justified and that the Secretariat should obtain and communicate to the Council information from the Governments on this subject. An enquiry was accordingly addressed to the Governments and a report on the replies received will be made to the Council in the course of this summer.

I feel that the report must also call the attention of the Council to the conclusion at the Seventh International Conference of American States of the convention on the nationality of women of December 26th, 1933. The existence of this instrument is clearly a new fact of which account must be taken in considering the question of further concerted international action in regard to the nationality of women.

I should be very grateful if you could assist me on two points in regard to the convention.

In the first place, it is desirable that I should be able to inform the Council whether, in view of the terms of its fifth Article and the character of its provisions, the convention can be considered to be open to adherence and accession by all States including States not belonging to the Pan-American Union. I understand that this question gave rise to some doubt but that it has recently been examined and answered in the affirmative by the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. I should be greatly obliged to receive confirmation from you of the fact of this decision and to learn whether I should be justified in stating to the Council that the convention is open to all States or, if not, what information on the subject I could properly give to the Council.

Secondly, I am anxious to place before the Council an accurate and complete text of the convention, both in English and in French, together with a list of the signatory States and the text of any reservations. Would it be possible for you to supply me for this purpose with a copy of the convention and of any reservations, in French and in English, and with a list of the signatories?

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant.
(signed) J. AVENOL.
Secretary-General.

L. S. Rowe, Esq.,
Director General, Pan-American Union.

On June 14th, Dr. Rowe replied to Mr. Avenol, informing him officially of the action taken by the Supervisory Committee on May 11th, stating that the treaty was open to non-American States.

It would appear that the League is impressed by the conclusion of the treaty at Montevideo. While the League has failed for three years to act on this treaty urged by women through the Women's Consultative Committee, the Secretariat has no hesitancy now in indicating that the existence of the accomplished treaty, signed by 19 governments of men, may change their policy. A note of eagerness is, in fact, discernible.

While no State wishing to adhere to the convention need wait upon action by the League, it will help greatly to have the League carry out its announced plan to bring the question to the attention of member States. Furthermore, the bloc of Central and South American States members of the League now committed to the convention through the signatures of their respective Governments at Montevideo, can undoubtedly be relied upon to give stronger support to action by the

League than they gave before the convention was concluded.

Our readers will rejoice to learn of this changed attitude on the part of the League Secretariat since the adoption of the Convention in Montevideo.

Perhaps a recapitulation of the immense and complicated efforts which women have made in their struggle to win equal nationality by treaty would now be helpful. This struggle has been in progress since the formation of the Inter American Commission in 1928.

The first official act of the Chairman of the Commission was to go to Geneva to obtain from the September 1928 Assembly of the League of Nations, a recommendation that governments participating in the First Conference for the Codification of International Law include women plenipotentiaries in their respective delegations, in view of the fact that women's nationality was to be considered. The recommendation was introduced by Dr. Orestes Ferrara of Cuba and supported in the First Committee by other Latin-American delegates. It was unanimously adopted by the Assembly.

At the suggestion of Dr. Alice Paul, Founder of the National Woman's Party, a Nationality Committee of the Commission was set up immediately after the Commission's creation, with Dr. Paul as Chairman. Their study on the status of women in the nationality laws of the world was ready for use when two years later, in 1930, the Codification Conference met at The Hague. Dr. Paul's draft treaty on equal nationality was presented to the Conference in response to a request by the Inter American Commission of Women but the Conference adopted the League experts' draft which condoned the principle of inequality.

From then on the efforts of organized women were devoted exclusively to two great main purposes in the realm of nationality:

(a) to prevent the ratification of The Hague Treaty.

(b) to get the Equal Nationality Treaty before the Governments of the world for ratification.

Unfortunately, women have not succeeded as well as they had hoped in preventing ratification of the Hague Treaty. Poland has just ratified it making seven of the ten ratifications necessary to bring it into effect. The women of this hemisphere, however, can take pride in the fact that, with the single exception of Brazil, no American Government has ratified it.

The task of getting the Equal Nationality Treaty before the Governments of the world for ratification was one of organization and diplomatic negotiations. No Government can ratify a treaty unless the treaty has first been signed by accredited representatives of the Government either in an international conference of States or by special negotiations. The task of women was to change the draft treaty into an official treaty. Women secured the creation of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality under a resolution of the League of Nations. The chief objective of this committee was to get the League to agree to submit this draft treaty to its member States for ratification. The committee urged this in 1931, 1932 and 1933, but the League did not submit it.

Mr. Avenol says in his letter to Dr. Rowe, the Montevideo Treaty, now concluded, will be laid before the Council. Presumably this will be done at its meeting this autumn, or if not then, at its January, 1935, meeting. The fact that the Montevideo Treaty is in existence and is open to all States for ratification will then be circulated to the Governments of the countries belonging to the League as a part of the official acts of the Council. In this way the question of adherence to this treaty will be officially called to the attention of the majority of the Governments of the world.

We quote from a memorandum recently sent by the Chairman of the Commission to her colleagues, which concludes:

"We do not know at this time whether the Council of the League will

(a) propose concerted action on the Pan American treaty by the League,
(b) recommend to its member States that they adhere to it, or
(c) announce simply that States may adhere to this convention.

"If the Council approves concerted action by the League or recommends adherence by the individual member States, it will be a great cause for women to rejoice throughout the world. But even if it does not, the essential purpose which led women to work internationally, instead of nationally—namely to bring this treaty before the nations of the world for action—will be accomplished.

"The task remaining to women in the realm of nationality falls into two parts:

(a) to prevent further ratification of The Hague Treaty, and
(b) to secure the ratification and adherence of the Montevideo Equal Nationality Treaty in each country."

The difficulties concerning their nationality which women have met with at the League now seem to be clearing up.

We can never know what labor on the part of countless women, and what expenditure of funds, has gone into the resolving of these difficulties. A partial gauge of how much money was spent, however, is found in the financial records of the Inter American Commission of Women alone. Approximately $15,000.00 was raised during 1928 and 1929 by Miss Stevens while she was Chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the National Woman's Party, and $36,996.40 after 1929 by her as Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women—or a total of more than $51,000.00 in five years, the greater part of which was spent in getting an Equal Nationality Treaty signed by the American Republics and placed before the nations of the world for their adherence.

Two Women Make History

(Translated from an article by Gisela Urban of Vienna, Austria, which appeared in the "Neues Wiener Journal")

IN the *Neues Wiener Journal* of December 7, 1933, it was reported that the Pan American Congress which met in Montevideo had before it two matters of importance for the progress of women. First, it was to decide on whether to induce the governments of all American States to recognize the right of the married woman to determine her own nationality. Secondly, it was called upon to take action leading to the granting by all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere of full Equal Rights to their women citizens in all of life's relationships. An Equal Nationality Treaty and an Equal Rights Treaty, covenants of binding effect, were to be adopted by the governments in order to further the passage of identically sounding laws and in that way to secure uniformity in regard to women's rights throughout the American continent.

The agreements reached in Montevideo alone promise fulfillment of the most millenial hopes of American women. A victory was won which must convince the Old World as well, that developments brought about through the passage of time may perhaps be delayed by scattered, reactionary tendencies, but that they cannot be rejected altogether. The delegates of all the American governments subscribed to the Equal Nationality Treaty, the convention providing for Equal Rights for women in all matters of nationality. In addition, they united in a recommendation in which the American governments are earnestly importuned to adopt the Equal Rights Treaty and to give to women full legal and political rights. Only the representative of the United States refrained from voting on this recommendation. Soon thereafter, Uruguay, Para-

guay, Ecuador and Cuba ratified the Equal Rights Treaty.

Is not the signing of the first international pact for uniformity in the laws pertaining to women's rights factually an achievement of historical significance? But the recommendation deserves the same classification in that it prepares the way for the ultimate firm establishment of uniform Equal Rights. Already the Senate of the U. S. A. is being lobbied so that it will ratify the Treaty, and in the opinion of the leaders it is only a question of time until the State which—not only in the concert of American republics, but also in the chorus of all the nations of the earth—possesses the mightiest voice, will incline also to the adoption of the Equal Rights Treaty. Need it be explained that the cultural revolution brought about by these two compacts must also have its effect in other parts of the world? Isolation no longer exists among nations, since modern technical proficiency has made possible the conquest of the greatest distances, and the broadcasting of ideas and news impresses upon nations the uniformity of human destiny.

The mighty onslaught that rises above all former battles for women's rights through the use of new tactics and the striving after a universal goal was set in motion by two women. By Alice Paul, the spiritual leader of the National Woman's Party, who is also the generalissimo in the fight for citizenship rights, and by Doris Stevens to whom thanks are due for the idea of intervening at the Pan American Congress and laying the treaties before it. Both leaders represent the type of the energetic, fearless, determined American woman. At the same time, Alice Paul, at first blush, does not give the impression of being a fighting personality, mistress of superior spiritual weapons, firm and certain of purpose. She looks almost shy, with her dark, questioning eyes, but behind her fine brow thoughts congregate, keen as knife-blades, challenging injustice and degradation, which, clad in words, have enthused legions of women to unswerving loyalty. Member of a prominent Quaker family, brought up under the influence of Christianity and subjected to a strict moral training, Alice Paul, as the apostle of the freedom of women, has repeatedly suffered humiliating prison experiences. In recent years, in the interests of her mission, she has studied law, and has now succeeded through her triumph in the struggle for citizenship rights for women, in adding another brilliant page to the history of the woman movement.

Doris Stevens looks much more resolute, although not lacking the brilliance of a woman of the world. Dutch and English blood are commingled in her, the descendant of immigrant families, and in her home also there was present the Puritan atmosphere and pre-occupation with social welfare. After leaving college, Doris Stevens taught at first, but even during these early years became involved in the votes-for-women campaign which in her case also brought a prison sentence. She is the first woman who, guided by the conviction that "the quickest way is the easiest," took upon herself the undertaking of calling upon an international forum for the ultimate determination of the rights of women. In that way she began to make history for women. According to the views expressed in one of her burning speeches, "What are continents? What are States? In the last analysis nothing but communities of men and women!"

International Alliance to Meet in Turkey

THE International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship has issued a call to its Twelfth Congress to be held next April 18 to 25, 1935, in Istanbul, Turkey.

Having affiliated societies in forty counties, the invitation to attend the Congress is extended to all women's organizations, national or international, which are in sympathy with the object of the Alliance, and "all men and women who support its program."

"Our last Congress in Berlin in 1929," the call continues, "was a magnificent celebration of the foundation of the Alliance. The world economic crisis caused the cancellation of the triennial Congress in 1932, but, in spite of the continuance of those difficulties, we cannot further delay to call our members together to discuss some aspects of the crisis which closely and intimately affect our cause. Moreover, the Board's three-year mandate has been much exceeded.

"By the generous invitation of the women of Turkey, we shall meet in Istanbul—a name to rouse in each of us childhood memories of Eastern legend and romance—an ideal meeting place for East and West in spirit and in fact. For there, in a period of re-birth, the guiding hand has recognized the paramount importance of a free womanhood trained in citizenship and given the opportunity to make its contribution to the nation's life. Our work will be carried on in an atmosphere of sympathy and fresh hopefulness, which should be an inspiration to us all.

"When our work began, all countries were tending towards free democracies, the franchise was being extended, and in many countries manhood suffrage was already in operation. 'Equality' could therefore naturally be expressed by the extension of the same suffrage rights to women citizens as to men. In this period women went from victory to victory. We witnessed an enormous change in the position of women, their magnificent evolution in education and professions, and their enfranchisement as citizens. Within the last twenty years women from all parts of the world have taken their place in local and state parliaments, as civil servants in ministries and even as members of cabinets, as delegates to the League of Nations, the Economic Conference and the Disarmament Conference. Certainly complete equality has as yet not been attained, even in the most advanced countries. But our work has benefited by the growing influence of women, covering as it has not only the question of suffrage, but also the equal moral standard, equal conditions of work, the civil status of women, including the nationality of married women and the position of the unmarried mother and her child, and the great cause of peace and the League of Nations.

"Our battle seemed almost won. . . . Now, alas, the situation has changed. Women have to face the challenge to their fundamental rights which has clearly emerged from the unrest of the after-war world and a new campaign is before us. Different new experiments in forms of government concern our Alliance is so far as they affect the relative position of men and women. Some have maintained or instituted equal rights; others have destroyed the progress of years as regards the position of women and the enlightened social work inaugurated and carried on by them. It seems vital to claim that whatever new experiments may be made in any country they shall include and not destroy the ideals in which we so devoutly believe. Those ideals, far from being based on a division of interests, with each sex holding sway in different departments of life, demand a community of interests with every sphere enriched by the special contributions which each may bring.

"The problem with which we are faced is that women no more than men have a common viewpoint on political or social questions; how then are we to preserve, or might we not almost say to re-establish that solidarity which alone brought victory to our movement, and without which our gains may be swept away? We must now fight for fundamentals. The outward forms of emancipation have no lasting value, no permanence if they are not

founded on the *true* emancipation of the individual.

"We shall meet in Istanbul in order to discuss our problems, to record success or failure, and above all to strengthen our will to victory. We must find the path into a world organized for peace and prosperity on the firm basis of justice and equal responsibility for every citizen—that is the mission of our Alliance.

"The future shall still be ours, if fully awake to the dignity, freedom and responsibility of the womanhood of the world, we share our vision and pledge ourselves to make it a reality."

The call is signed by: Adele Schreiber, Rosa Manus, Emilie Gourd, Hoda Charaoui, Ingeborg Hansen, Dhanvanthi Rama Rau, Marquesa del Ter, Margery I. Corbett Ashby, Germaine Malaterre Sellier, Milena Atanatskovitch, Marie Ginsberg, Paulina Luisi, Bessie Rischbieth, Avra Theodoropoulos, Frantiska Plaminkova, Dorothee von Velsen, Suzanne Grinberg, Alison Neilans, Josephine Schain, Ingeborg Walin, Carrie Chapman Catt and Frances M. Sterling.

Self Protection Is the Best Protection

(Speech made by Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence at the recent Deputation to the General Purposes Committee of the London County Council, Organized by the Open Door Council, and Supported by Twenty-eight Women's Organizations, to Ask the County Council to Reconsider Its Policy of Not Employing Married Women)

I HAVE been given the great privilege today of coming before you as a representative of the united woman's movement in this country, to urge you to re-consider the present policy of dismissing women from your staff on marriage. The Coöperative Women's Guild, mostly married women, re-affirmed their emphatic protest against dismissal of married women at their conference early in this month, and again last week at the Labor Women's Conference, a resolution in the same sense was carried with one dissentient. Organized labor women are united with all organized women throughout the country in their demand that there shall be no discrimination against women in the industrial or professional sphere by reason of sex or marriage.

We come with hope and confidence to plead our cause to the newly-constituted London County Council, in whose progressive policy we rejoice. We realize what a very outstanding position of influence it holds. What the L. C. C. does today, other municipal bodies will do tomorrow and private employers will tend to follow suit.

The argument for dismissing women on marriage from paid employment is supported by two main ideas:

1. That it is a rough and ready method, easiest to hand, of ameliorating the present condition of unemployment.
2. That the welfare of the family demands the whole-time work of the wife and mother.

Against the first argument, we contend that it is the worst method of dealing with unemployment,

Because, It is an exploded economic theory that there are a limited number of places in industry, and that these must be divided up amongst wage-earners. (All this policy does is to try to cure unemployment by a game of "general post".)

Because, An employed woman employs as many people as an employed man. Her wages are spent in staple necessities and keep the factory wheels busy in supplying them. Probably less of her wages goes in unproductive forms of expenditure—on race courses and in public-houses, for example—more finds its way into upkeep of her home, and in employment, direct and indirect, of other men and women.

Because, Years of training and practice are wasted to the loss of the whole community. Skilled workers tend to be displaced for unskilled, the price of production is raised, reducing our chances of getting trade in the world's markets.

Because, Parents are discouraged in apprenticing and training girls for skilled work; thus this policy adds to the problem of unemployment which is always worse when there is a glut of unskilled workers in the labor market.

Because, This trivial dealing with the problem hides the real issue: The inadequacy of the present money system to the immensely enhanced power of production, and also the chaotic unplanned methods of production and distribution; for the Socialist and the Labor Party to adopt it is a confession of weakness.

With regard to the second argument we contend that, although the welfare of children may sometimes demand the whole time and attention of the married woman, she and her husband, in the overwhelming majority of cases, are the most sensitive to this need, and are better able to form a right judgment between alternatives. We hear too much of the prevailing malnutrition of children, and the high death-rate of mothers, attributed in part to the same cause, to be able with justification to say that it is never better for the children for the mother to keep her job, and save them from the life-long results of semi-starvation. Only those who serve on administrative bodies know the multitude of the heart-breaking domestic tragedies caused by this growing custom of arbitrary dismissal of the married woman, and refusal, on the ground of marriage, to re-employ her. Those who support this policy sometimes reinforce their argument by a plea that women need the protection of authority. They do not realize that, in these days, when women are educated in the same schools as boys, when they have a right to their own property, and an equal political and citizen status, the best protection for a woman as for a man, is the freedom to use her own power of self-protection. The best defence for the family is untrammeled motherhood.

There is a further argument often met with: that two incomes should not go into one home. It must be remembered that this theory has never been observed except in the isolated instance of married women. There is no rule against a son or a daughter bringing an additional income into the home. It is never argued that two brothers, two sisters, or two friends living together should not both be entitled to earn money. A man with an income is not prohibited from following his profession. If he marries a wife with an income, he is still free to earn an independent salary.

It must also be remembered that in these days a married man is often a casual laborer, and even if he is in regular work there is no certainty that he will keep his job and no complete security for his family. It will probably be argued that hard cases can be considered on their merits, but everybody in the labor movement knows that such a suggestion involves very undesirable consequences. It introduces the principle of enquiry into the private and domestic affairs of the employee and gives the employer the whip hand over his staff. As Mrs. Barton pointed out in her speech to the Women's Coöperative Guild's Conference recently, any such practice encourages favoritism and corruption. If the employer instead of making appointments on the ground of the merit and ability of the applicant for a job, is able to offer posts as a kind of favoritism to those who are supposed to need the money, he will naturally make use of these powers and often in a very undesirable way.

Should this practice of discrimination be gradually accepted, it would lead to the loss of status of all wage-earners both men and women.

We have another reason for urging our cause today. Ideas of democracy, freedom and peace are in dire peril at the moment. Herr Hitler's dictum: "Women are the breeders of warriors, the solace of warriors, that is their function"—is part of the whole attack upon the Progressive Movement. The dismissal of married women, leading as it inevitably does to

the lowered status of all women, is part of the Fascist plan and is bound up with dictatorship and militarism and suppression of civil liberties. There can be no peace without justice. We urge the Progressive County Council of London not to let itself be contaminated by the seed ideas of Fascism.

We implore this great body of public-spirited men and women to reverse the cruel and stupid rule and custom of dismissing women on marriage, and thus set a lead to the whole country for the establishment of equality and freedom regardless of marriage or sex.

Feminist Notes

Odds and Ends

By Hilda N. Dulac

NOONTIME in a crowded cafeteria; two attractive young women in tasteful street attire are at my table. Theirs is the usual "he said" and "he thinks", the morning-after recital of the night-before. At least so I suppose.

But what is this? Why the "he's" are the husbands of the young women! Evidently charming young Adonises, too, the "every one adores him" kind. Not the kind who receive salary promotions; the kind who just must have recreation in the evening to rest them after their day's work; the kind who are the first to be laid off.

For the present one husband is living with his parents; the other has an out-of-town job that "doesn't pay much." So each of the young wives is back at work in an office. One boards with relatives; the other keeps house in one room. Each has one child living with her and whom she supports.

Both went into matrimony so confidently; and even now they are looking forward hopefully to the day when they can be reunited with their happy-go-lucky young husbands.

They are such trim, capable individuals for all their youth and womanliness. I am sorry when they rise to leave.

"Please pardon my listening," I say, "but I am so interested. Many people say married women work just for pin money."

"Pin money! Huh! I work because I must or starve. None of the married women I know are working for fun, believe me."

I look around the crowded room. So many women of varying age but of the type of these two. How many are married? How many supporting dependents?

Nearly all are office workers; all are sensibly attired; they are well groomed, marcelled and manicured. But most impressive of all is a certain indefinable something upon their faces — which is there even while they chatter and laugh—that bespeaks an inner poise, an ability to carry their crosses bravely.

And seeing this I am proud of my sex.

Disturbing Signs

THE drastic changes which the status of women has undergone in recent years over a considerable part of the earth's surface can best be appreciated when summarized as has been done by *The New Era* of Hot Springs, Arkansas, in an editorial entitled "Women at Work." It reads:

> The girl at the typewriter, the girl behind the sales counter, and the woman engaged in skilled professional work are so much a part of the economic picture in the United States that it is hard to imagine a great city without its women workers.
>
> Yet Herbert S. Mills, professor-emeritus of economics at Vassar College, recently reminded the alumnae of that institution that woman's freedom in choosing a career in the home, business and professional life has been definitely curtailed in three great countries, and warned that if they value this freedom they must be prepared to defend it.
>
> In Germany, women once more are taking the Victorian role of home-maker—and giving up all work outside the home. In Italy, they are honored only as mothers of men. In Russia, on the contrary, home life is ignored and the wife who spends her days toiling in the factory or fields must forego her heritage of home-making and rearing a family.
>
> No matter how one may feel about the desirability of women confining their activities to the home or working outside it, young women in this country who have definite leanings toward one or the other —or wish to combine both—should give thanks for the privilege. For others, this particular phase of the German, Italian and Russian innovations in government remains one of the most interesting to watch.

"BLIND SLAYERS OF THEMSELVES"

Feministically speaking, do we realize the full import of a life and career like that of Madame Curie? Lest we may not, we quote the following letter from a recent number of Time and Tide, a London weekly:

Sir:—The authorities of our English Universities, County Councils, etc., who dismiss women employees on marriage, for no reason, and who may, in effect, be said to have instructed Nature to yield her secrets only to single women and to men, married and single, may have paused to think of the significance of their ruling as they read in their daily papers on Thursday of last week, of the life and work — and death — of Madame Curie, the woman to whom, three years after she had entered the natural state of marriage, Nature had revealed the secret of radium.

Madame Curie's daughter, following in her mother's footsteps by continuing her researches after marriage, has already contributed notably to the world's knowledge. These two women expose the fallacy of the assumption that home and family are women's natural and sole occupation. Restricted in their opportunities, the progress of the world would have been impeded. What is this prejudice or pride which would make men blind slayers of themselves?

I am, etc.,

May Shacklock.

Quinta Nova,
The Folly, Radlett.

Women Form Own Bar Association

REFUSED admission to the Kansas City Bar Association nine years ago when two young women applied for membership, the women attorneys of that city have incorporated the Women's Bar Association of Kansas City.

The decree of incorporation declares the purposes of the association to include encouraging women in the study of law and cultivating social fellowship among members; efforts to eliminate discrimination against women under the law, and co-operation with all lawyers in upholding the ethics of the legal profession.

Gladys J. Miniace is president of the new association. Tiera Farrow, who with Louise M. Byers sought membership in the men's organization in 1925, acted as attorney for the association in obtaining the decree of incorporation.

Girl Smokers' Rights

GIRLS who smoke in railway trains have their rights which must not be interfered with, according to a decision of a judge in Liverpool, England. Miss Gladys Walker testified that when she entered a smoking compartment and lit a cigarette, William Reece of Southport told her the cigarette ought to be knocked down her throat. Reece was fined for "interfering with the comfort of a fellow-passenger in a railway compartment."

Condemn Modern Warfare

RESOLUTIONS declaring bacteriological and chemical warfare "revolting" were adopted by the International Council of Women, which urged limitation of armaments at its recent international convention in Paris.

The council also went on record against aerial bombardment and in favor of the international control of civil aviation.

Will Hold Eighth Congress

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, to which women in forty-two countries of the world belong, will hold its Eighth International Congress at Zurich in the first week of September.

The Congress will discuss *in closed session* the work and methods of the W. I. L. in view of the changes in the political, social and economic situation of the world.

Press Comment

President Jimenez of Costa Rica Favors Votes for Women

La Prensa, New York, N. Y., July 17, 1934.

A PETITION from the Feminist organizations of Costa Rica was recently submitted to the Congress, demanding full enfranchisement on the same terms as men, a petition which has always hitherto come to naught. The commission which considered it has made a favorable majority vote, and the President himself has declared himself in favor of it, in the columns of *La Tribuna,* the daily newspaper of the capital.

"Votes for Women! This does not frighten me, it delights me. Women have the same rights as men. it is said, and I am in accord with this thought. I say more, that at times their rights are greater. Woman is wholly intuitive. She thinks with her heart. Men are calculating and are wont to consult their stomachs in their interests. Women have fewer vices and more virtues. Man has more ways of sinning. But even if these were not my convictions, nothing would make me raise other objections to votes for women. It comes with the epoch, the moment in which we are living. We cannot restrain, even if this were our desire, a movement of this sort which, little by little, has conquered the entire world. Those who are opposed to votes for women allege sometimes that it is a dangerous thing, as women are under the influence of the church. I do not know whether in past times these fears had any foundation. My own personal experience in Costa Rica is that the priests have never been able to influence politics. I have been in electoral contests and I have triumphed in them many times. The supreme power of the church has always been against me. The former bishop, and the present one, who is now the archbishop, have used the vote for others than Ricardo Jimenez. My reputation, at least so it was proclaimed by my enemies, was that of an atheist. Logically I should not have counted a single sympathizer among the women of Costa Rica, but the exact contrary has been the fact."

[In connection with the above, Helena Hill Weed of the Inter American Commission of Women informs us that Costa Rica has advised the Commission that the official copy of the Equal Nationality Treaty was not received by the Government in time to submit it to the Congress for ratification at the 1934 session, which adjourned for the year at the end of June. Laws were passed, however, equalizing their nationality code before adjournment. The treaty will be submitted for ratification as soon as the 1935 Congress meets.

The petition of the Costa Rican Feminists to their Congress, asking for the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, Mrs. Weed states, has been made many times before, but without success. This year, however, in view of the equality recommendations at Montevideo, the petition was referred to a legislative commission, and was reported out by a favorable majority.]

Woman Makes Good as Screen Director

Dudley Early in The Family Circle, Oakland, Calif., July 6, 1934.

ABOUT six years ago a motion picture was produced and shown throughout the world, bearing among its credit titles this one: "Directed by Dorothy Arzner. It is doubtful, with the public's well-known inattention to credit titles, if more than a handful of movie fans could have told you at the end of the picture who directed it. But people in the motion picture business, and the critics of its product, noted and were congratulatory.

For directing had always been a man's job, because the director is the boss; his word is law on the set. Men, holding the bigger executive posts, could not conceive of a woman in that all-important job. . . .

As early as 1918 (when the subject of this article was still in school) there was a woman director, Lois Weber, who contributed some fine pictures during her time behind the camera. Miss Weber is now retired, and Miss Arzner is striding on, setting a pace for others of her sex in Hollywood and lending ambition to them by her example.

Today she stands, if not at the top of the directorial ladder, at least far above the bottom rung where she started. To her it is no accident, but rather the working out of a definite pattern, which from today's vantage point she can clearly see.

Perhaps the greatest proof of her success in her work is the fact that she has given producers faith in women as directors. Another woman, Wanda Tuchok, has lately finished directing a picture for RKO.

News from the Field

Says Husbands Should Divide Equally With Wives

AN ARKANSAS Feminist writes:

218 Oak Street,
Hot Springs, Arkansas,
July 26, 1934.

My Dear Mrs. Hooker:

I apologize! You are right, as usual; a married woman should have the same right to choose her career as her husband. Your editorial has proven that, but I say a wife should have just as much right to the money and property for which she has worked all her life as the husband has.

More power to the National Woman's Party at the next session of our United States Congress! You are doing a noble work, and I sincerely hope you will succeed this time.

Statistics prove that more men than women gamble, drink, and otherwise squander the wife's earnings than do women. Therefore, women are more capable of taking care of the earnings of the two combined. But does she get a chance to prove her worthiness? No! Men are glad enough to get the wives to work and slave for them all their lives *for nothing,* but just let her try to get any money for her life of love and service to her husband and children and the *"big I am"* tells her he is taking care of her and she should be honored to have such protection (?).

If stealing a wife's earnings is protection, wives would be far better off without any protection whatever.

And what is worse, is the fact that, if the husband dies first, the wife is humiliated with that absolute insult of a dower interest, which means that she can never own her own home unless her name is on the deed, and statistics prove that only 20 per cent. of the husbands ever put the wife's name on a deed to any property; while the children who have *not* worked and earned that property get two-thirds of everything, to do with as they please. Who has worked and helped to earn that property, the wife or the children?

What incentive has a wife to work and help her husband to save money when she knows full well that she can never get even one dollar by law, and not many husbands will give their wives anything more than their board and keep? And why should a wife have children when the law gives her children all *her* life's earnings? Could she not have the pleasure of the profits of her labors as long as she lives, and then let her give it to her children or to whomever she pleases? She has earned it, let her have it.

A wife may not will her dower interest even to her own child, while a husband can keep all the wife's earnings and squander it any way he sees fit, so that there is nothing left for the wife if he dies first. Then when she is too old to work, she is on charity when, if she had been allowed to keep her portion of her earnings, she would have had enough to keep her in her old days.

Woman's work in this world is just as important as man's, and should be paid for just the same as a man's. How long would the world stand if women refused to have children, for instance? And that is only one of thousands of important things that women do to help the world along.

(I hope I signed my name to my last letter. I surely intended to.)

Wishing you and and the Woman's Party all success, I am,

Sincerely and faithfully yours,

LENORA SPENCER.

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